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MOTION: TRANSFORMATION

35th Congress of the International Committee
of the History of Arts
Florence, 1-6 September 2019

Congress Proceedings

- Part 2 -

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edited by Marzia Faietti and Gerhard Wolf

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Attraction and Artistic Mobility Patterns in P.M. Bardi's Brazilian Way*

Paolo Rusconi

Università degli Studi di Milano

What does remain of Pietro Maria Bardi's great work of cultural dissemination on the two sides of the ocean? What about its legacy? And why bring up once again the story of a man whose life spent between Italy and Brazil spanned the whole of the 20th century?

Especially in today's world, the actions of a man identified with that century's views can hardly cause a stir. We look upon his approximations and amateurism with disapproval and are wary of the shadows of the past that amass around his name; his political leanings, or rather, his Fascist past, and a certain impenetrability in the account of his life as an art dealer (fig. 1). His silences and ambiguities marked the whole course of his life, yet, upon his death in 1999, they did not blot his profile as sketched out in the Italian or Brazilian obituaries.¹ But then his cultural merits are at least as important as his opacities.

The 30 years since the publication of Tentori's biography² have not gone by without a change in our understanding of Bardi's adventure and its context. Historians have started to study Bardi – slowly, but they have. We have several lines of research both in Brazil and in Italy by young and more mature scholars. Events such as the conferences organised in Campinas by Nelson Aguilar³ and the crucial work conducted at the USP by Ana Gonçalves Magalhães⁴ have shed new light on the context of Bardi's South American travels.

We now know almost everything about Pietro Maria Bardi's arrival in Brazil thanks to Viviana Pozzoli's studies.⁵ We thus have new information about the organisation of the first MASP (Museu de Arte de São Paulo) through the studies of three young researchers: Stela Politano,⁶ Luna Lobão,⁷ and Marina Martin Barbosa.⁸ With regard to the relationships between the Museum of São Paulo and the history of design in Brazil, we might mention works by Milene Soares Cará,⁹ Maria Claudia Bonadio,¹⁰ and Débora Gigli Buonano,¹¹ and in particular Ethel Leon's essay dedicated to the Instituto de Arte Contemporânea.¹²

I cannot forget to mention the studies of Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo,¹³ Luciano Migliaccio,¹⁴ Rodrigo Otávio da Silva Paiva,¹⁵ and Aline Coelho Sanchez Corato.¹⁶

Nevertheless, I remain personally convinced that there is much still to be explored, starting from an examination of the recently reorganised personal archive at the Instituto Lina Bo e P.M. Bardi and, most of all, an analysis of a large number of fragments of Bardi's personal writings which, although they may not provide us with a biography in the true sense of the word, bear witness to his interest in setting out his recollections in his mature years, to take final stock of his own existence.¹⁷

The exciting sensation of living a second life and the image of Brazil that Bardi interiorizes and communicates are frequently evoked in the afore-

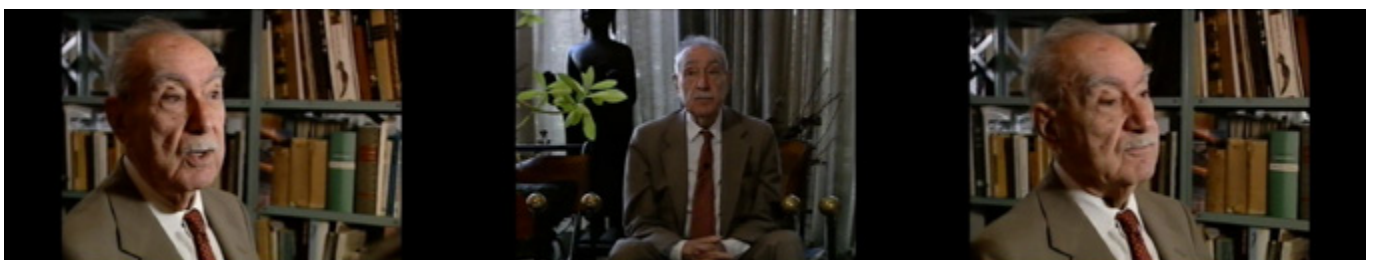


Fig. 1. Frames from *Pietro Maria Bardi. L'avventura dell'arte*, directed by Giampiero Gasparino, 1992.

mentioned piles of notes by Bardi. One of these, which is unpublished and can be dated to the 1980s, is extremely interesting and introduces us right to the topic addressed:

I had a vague penchant for South America, which I had visited in '33, having taken to Buenos Aires an exhibition of Italian architecture, which was shown at the Museum of Fine Arts and inaugurated by the President of the Republic, General Justo.

As the crossings took in the cities of Recife, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (Santos) I had the chance to form an impression of Brazil, because of quick visits that the passengers were able to make as the ship unloaded and took on provisions. Rio and São Paulo taught me what the tropics were. All new for a sedentary type.

When deciding on my Brazilian adventure, those visits influenced me, as my curiosity had never known any limits. I chose Rio de Janeiro as my base, and things went unexpectedly well for me.¹⁸

The passage recalls a distant memory, thus using the register of a 'happy ending'. Nevertheless, not only does it highlight a circumstance that has received little attention on the part of historians, to which we will return later – that is, Bardi's first trip to South America, between November 1933 and February 1934¹⁹ – but it also tells of the fortune of an Italian joining his new Brazilian community of residence.

Bardi in Brazil. A Biographical Approach

The case of Pietro Maria Bardi after 1946, the year of his arrival in Rio de Janeiro and subsequent permanent move to Brazil, seems particularly significant in this regard: first of all, it represents a case of successful emigration. "Things went unexpectedly well for me", writes Bardi, with a certain irony, hinting at that degree of imponderability of the biographical path that would be a dominant trait of his initial actions in the New World.²⁰

His decision to settle in Brazil took shape slowly at a time when, according to data provided by the sociologist Maria Arminda Do Nascimento Arruda, the level of foreign immigration to São Paulo was quite low.²¹ Everything happened during the specific context of several commercial and cultural exchanges, and diplomatic missions between Italy and South American countries, after the II World War.²²

As I have already mentioned, Bardi formed an initial idea of Brazil in 1933. During his trip to Buenos Aires, not only did he stop off at Bahia and Rio de Janeiro but, as he recounted in his late autobiographical memoirs in the 1980s, he also made a stop for a day in Santos and was accompanied by car to visit the metropolis in the uplands.²³

His impression of Brazil in October 1946 was quite different; upon disembarking in Rio de Janeiro, he seems more aware of the country's cultural potential. In an interview with *Pensamento da America* on November 24,²⁴ Bardi claimed familiarity with modern Brazilian art through North American publications²⁵ and a fragmentary knowledge of the poetry of Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Vinícius de Moraes, and Jorge de Lima through Giuseppe Ungaretti and the international magazine *Poesia*.²⁶

The interview makes no mention of a clichéd Brazil based on *Banana da Terra* and *Banana Split* for export use, made fashionable by Hollywood, and rapidly accustomed to the South American nation itself.²⁷ There is no reference to mainstream exoticisms, but rather a spontaneous interest in locally developed architecture, starting from so-called 'colonial' architecture.²⁸

Other statements that he would later make to the Brazilian and Italian press also reveal respect for the cultures of the host country. However, they also lay emphasis on the idea of a civilising mission in which the myth of modernisation acquired a preeminent place.²⁹ Through his words, an overlap transpires between a modernist European cultural model and the contemporary image that he was forming by himself of the São Paulo metropolis: modern, progressive, and a prototype of a hybridised identity.³⁰ His integration within the productive and professional system of the city seemed easy and inevitable and hence a campaign of relocation of other Italians to Brazil began, by making it possible to profit from certain selection and artistic career processes within the MASP. For a number of Italian artists, settling in São Paulo became a kind of professional training, while Bardi acted as an intermediary, thereby creating a network of relations that would facilitate his being embraced by the Brazilian artistic scene.³¹

Bardi's Network and the Transnational Circulation of Italian Artists

The arrival of Roberto Sambonet and Gastone Novelli, the professional relations with Giancarlo

Palanti and Bramante Buffoni, the friendship with Anna Maria Fiocca, Luiza Sambonet, and the architect Giancarlo Gasperini, the long-distance collaborations with Emilio Villa, Ettore Camesasca, and Gio Ponti are just some of the names that reveal Bardi's effective role as an intermediary between the two worlds. I cannot forget to mention the important and decisive collaboration with his partner, Lina Bo Bardi.³²

In particular, the experiences of the artists Sambonet and Novelli are well suited to illustrate these examples of artistic commuting and crossover languages developed at the MASP during the 1940s and 1950s. When Sambonet started teaching drawing at the IAC (fig. 2), the school was part of that circuit of global education supported by the great masters of modernism, a laboratory that fostered a sort of artistic hybridism, with European immigrants and Brazilian teachers in its teaching staff.³³ By that time, Bardi had already commissioned Sambonet to design the Museum's poster,³⁴ a tangle of lines from which a tropical forest of palms and *sambambaias* sprouted, new and exotic accents for a modernist model that, in my view, Sambonet knew well, as he had the chance to see it at the Bardis' collection, that is, *Felsentempel (Templo de Rocha)* by Paul Klee.³⁵ Yet, it is often the drawings for fabrics which reveal an unequivocal ascendancy of the native models. The fabric's motif³⁶ reproduced here can be traced to the well-known prototype of the *brise soleil* of the Ministério de Educação e Saúde in Rio de Janeiro.



Fig. 2. Roberto Sambonet in 1949, in *Massaguassù. Figuras e paisagens pintadas no Brasil*, São Paulo. Museu de arte de São Paulo, 1949.

Both the poster and the fabric delineate attitudes that were recurrent in the decade between 1940 and 1950 amongst artists, designers, and architects around the idea of tropicalisation. The success of the Brazilian architecture was conveyed first through the exhibition *Brazil Builds* at the MoMA in 1943,³⁷ and subsequently through the monographic issues of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* of 1947³⁸ which had a considerable impact on modernism. We might call them 'processes of reverse hybridisation', to which Bardi made a significant contribution.

The sounding board for this modernist, tropical wave was the magazine *Habitat*, the museum's house organ prior to *O Museu de arte de São Paulo*, a monthly bulletin published from 1954 onwards. The journal was certainly the tool of an intricate system of global circulation of modernist content and a learning place for a new group of Brazilian readers who saw culture as a hallmark of social differentiation.³⁹ Its mission was to create an artistic taste for the 'new people', those emerging metropolitan social classes among whom the demand for consumer goods was increasing considerably during those years. In this sense, it is possible to understand the museum's intense activity in the fields of fashion and industrial design as a machine for fabricating a new idea of modernity by moving models and objects of Brazilian ethnographic culture towards the mass-produced item or towards 'fine' art.⁴⁰ The basket produced for La Rinascente⁴¹ in 1956 illustrates, therefore, this prototype of reverse hybridisation and superficial cross-contamination between the European sensibility and the elaborations on local products. In fact, it reveals the study of forms and materials of popular Brazilian artefacts collected during his travels in the inland and on the coast.

Gastone Novelli, who was invited by Bardi to teach at the IAC⁴² (fig. 3), was another of the leading figures of this artistic moment:⁴³ his time was split between producing ethnic ceramics, unique pieces for the Galeria Ambiente and Tenreiro,⁴⁴ imitating Morandi, a highly-esteemed artist within Bardi's circle,⁴⁵ preparing himself to engage with the abstract-concrete artistic movements of São Paulo and with the masters of the IAC, such as Leopoldo Haar.⁴⁶ But he also designed exhibition stands and artistic and decorative objects such as the brooch displayed in a boutique in Rua Augusta, a fashion store founded by three Italian partners.⁴⁷

Artists such as Sambonet and Novelli had a regular line of development at their disposal, dictated by the modernist programme of Bardi's school, and together they were able to draw upon a vocabulary that was alien to them, combining elements, materials, and traditional forms in a new way.

This is not to say that everyone shared the same enthusiasm for the artistic situation in the metropolis or for Brazil. In 1953, Novelli wrote to his mother: "...my work is going well, thank goodness, and I shall certainly return to Italy at the end of 1954. If I see that I can remain there in acceptable conditions I shan't return to Brazil again as it's a country that I don't like much".⁴⁸ The memory of Brazil subsequently re-emerged in his work in the 1960s. By this date, however, the influence of Claude Lévi-Strauss' *Tristes tropiques* was widespread among European intellectuals and, in Novelli's case, had been contaminated by the events of a number of ethnological expeditions that he had come to know during his stay in the South American country.⁴⁹

Bardi himself, for whom the season in which the exciting sensation of living a second life had ended, embarked on a more conscious reflection upon the work of adaptation to indigenous cultures, which he had conducted in a far less conscious manner in the 1950s, by commencing a phase of historical synopses concerning Brazilian art in the 1970s and 1980s, with historical exhibitions such as *A mão do povo brasileiro* and *A arte do povo brasileiro*.⁵⁰

As we know from a group of late letters from the 1980s, Bardi did not lose the desire to preserve his memory of the beginnings and the possibility of a return to Italy.⁵¹ In any case, once again, it is possible to consult unpublished autobiographical material to confirm the feeling of attraction towards the place that was to be his home until the end of his days. During a final visit to Milan,



Fig. 3. Gastone Novelli and Lis Maria Carvalho Brisolla at the MASP 1954 (?). São Paulo, Private Collection.

in 1989, he wrote: "After my forty years of Brazil I feel like a citizen of that country. I thus end up speaking about dear São Paulo, a mystery of grandeur, an enigma of power".⁵²

While clearly Bardi's sensations fit closely with those of the emigrant, torn between the nostalgia for the country of origin and a feeling of belonging to the new one, it is still necessary to evaluate his work in relation to that more or less structured 'system' of mobility of post-war Italian artists.

Notes

* The text presented here is the transcription of the speech held in Florence for the CIHA Conference *Motion: Transformation* (Session 9) on September 6, 2019. A different version of the text was published in the art journal *Modos. História da Arte: modos de ver, exibir e compreender*. See P. Rusconi, "'Un'idea del Brasile". Pietro Maria Bardi's second life', *MODOS* 4, no. 1 (2020): pp. 241-253.

¹ See, for example, P. Rusconi, "Pier Maria Bardi, critico tra avanguardia e fascismo", *Il Gazzettino* (October 2, 1999); P. Panza, "Bardi, padre del razionalismo dimenticato", *Corriere della sera* (November 10, 1999); J.M. Mayrink, "Pietro Maria Bardi 1900-1999. Masp perde seu criador", *Journal do Brasil* (October 2, 1999).

² F. Tentori, *Pietro Maria Bardi con le cronache artistiche de "L'Ambrosiano" 1930-1933* (Milano: Mazzotta, 1990).

³ The conference was organised in Campinas, Universidade Estadual de Campinas - UNICAMP - Auditório do IFCH September 12-13, 2011. The conference proceedings were published in November 2019. I would like to mention the introduction by Nelson Aguilar which offers much food for thought about the historiography dedicated to Bardi.

See N. Aguilar, ed., *Pietro Maria Bardi. Constructor de um novo paradigma cultural* (Campinas: Unicamp editora, 2019).

⁴ A. Gonçalves Magalhães, ed., *Modernidade Latina. Os Italianos e os Centros do Modernismo Latino-americano* (São Paulo: MAC USP, 2014).

⁵ V. Pozzoli, “1946! Perché Pietro Maria Bardi decide di lasciare l’Italia e partire per il Brasile?”, in *Modernidade Latina. Os Italianos e os Centros do Modernismo Latino-americano*, cit.; V. Pozzoli, “Lo Studio d’Arte Palma: storia di un’impresa per il commercio artistico nell’Italia del dopoguerra”, *ACME* 69, no. 2 (2016): pp. 145-173.

⁶ S. Politano, *Exposição didática e vitrine das formas. A didática do Museu de Arte de São Paulo*, MA thesis (Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, 2010).

⁷ L. Lobão, “A missão artística do primeiro MASP: um estudo da concepção de Pietro Maria Bardi para os primeiros anos do MASP”, in N. Aguilar, ed., *Pietro Maria Bardi, Constructor de um novo paradigma cultural*, cit., pp. 189-201.

⁸ M. Martin Barbosa, *MASP e MAM: Percursos e movimentos culturais de uma época (1947-1969)*, PhD dissertation (Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, 2015).

⁹ M. Soares Cará, “O MASP, os Bardi e o design no Brasil”, in A. Gonçalves Magalhães, ed., *Modernidade Latina. Os Italianos e os Centros do Modernismo Latino-americano*, cit.

¹⁰ M.C. Bonadio, “A moda no MASP de Pietro Maria Bardi (1947-1987)”, *Anais do Museu Paulista: História e Cultura Material* XXII, no. 2 (December 2014): pp. 35-70.

¹¹ D. Gigli Buonano, *O olhar curatorial de Pietro Maria Bardi nas exposições de design no MASP*, PhD dissertation (Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie de São Paulo, 2016).

¹² E. Leon, *IAC. Primeira Escola de Design do Brasil* (São Paulo: Blucher, 2014).

¹³ E. Gorini Esmeraldo, “Bardi, jornalista e criador de um grande Museu de arte”, in N. Aguilar, ed., *Pietro Maria Bardi, Constructor de um novo paradigma cultural*, cit., pp. 203-223.

¹⁴ L. Migliaccio, “Pietro Maria Bardi no Brasil: história, crítica e crônica de arte”, in A. Gonçalves Magalhães, ed., *Modernidade Latina. Os Italianos e os Centros do Modernismo Latino-americano*, cit.

¹⁵ R.O. da Silva Paiva, *Max Bill no Brasil* (Berlin: Verlag 13, 2011).

¹⁶ A. Coelho Sanches Corato, “Além do “silêncio de um oceano”. Ideias de Brasil nas representações de um crítico e de artistas e arquitetos italianos depois da Segunda Guerra Mundial”, *Anais do Museu Paulista: História e Cultura Material*, XXIV, no. 2 (August 2016): 187-215.

¹⁷ I thank Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo for showing me the transcriptions of a series of notes handwritten by Bardi in the 1980s. With these transcriptions, Dr. Gorini Esmeraldo, who worked alongside Bardi, has done an extraordinary job of recovering and increasing documentary materials of no secondary importance. The quotes of the documents follow the numbering given by Dr. Gorini to the transcriptions (they will be indicated as Arquivo Pessoal Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo). An interesting work on the activity of Pietro Maria Bardi as a journalist in the 1980s can be found in Pedro Caroline Gabriel’s thesis, *Pietro Maria Bardi, cronista em revista: 1976-1988*, MA thesis (University of São Paulo / FAU USP, 2014).

¹⁸ Arquivo Pessoal Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo, *Texto 9*. All quotations from the writings of P.M. Bardi and G. Novelli were translated by the Author.

¹⁹ Some references appear in Laura Moure Cecchini, “The Nave Italia and the Politics of Latinità: Art, Commerce, and Cultural Colonization in the Early Days of Fascism”, *Italian Studies* 71, no. 4 (November 2016): p. 466; and in M. Martin Barbosa, “Masp e Mam: percursos e movimentos culturais de uma época (1947-1969)”, PhD dissertation (University of Campinas, University of Venice, 2015), pp. 24-28. For a detailed discussion on Bardi’s first trip to South America, see P. Rusconi, “Pietro Maria Bardi’s first journey to South America. A narrative of travel, politics and architectural Utopia”, in V. Galimi, A. Gori, eds., *Intellectuals in the Latin Space during the Era of Fascism*.

Crossing Borders (Abingdon/New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 57-84.

²⁰ Bardi’s intent about a possible and definitive return to Brazil was not, at first, predictable, so his possible return to Italy was to be put off until the achievement of an economic goal. In fact, the project of organizing artistic events, until 1947, spread all over the South American countries.

²¹ M.A. do Nascimento Arruda, *Metrópole e Cultura. São Paulo no Meio Século XX* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2015), second ed., pp. 56-57.

²² V. Pozzoli, “1946! Perché Pietro Maria Bardi decide di lasciare l’Italia e partire per il Brasile?”, cit.

²³ See Arquivo Pessoal Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo, *texto 9* and 66. The primary coeval source of this initial trip to São Paulo, is the *Amer* manuscript, currently held at the Biblioteca e Centro de Pesquisa do MASP. Eugenia Gorini Esmeraldo developed her PhD thesis on this manuscript. E.M.B. Gorini Esmeraldo, *Amer a primeira América de Bardi. Diário de bordo de P.M. Bardi (1933-1934)*, PhD dissertation (Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, 2020).

²⁴ O. Schneider, “Arte italiana e arquitetura brasileira. Exposição de antigas pinturas italianas - Obras de notoriedade universal - Inconfundível a arquitetura brasileira - Faltam instrumentos de expressão - Uma palestra com o Prof. Bardi”, in *Pensamento da America*, suplemento panamericano de *A Manhã* V, no. 11 (November 24, 1946): p. 160.

²⁵ Bardi probably refers to the successful publications organised by the MoMA of New York during the 1940s, such as *Portinari of Brazil* (1940) and *Brazil Builds* (1943).

²⁶ Bardi refers to the Magazine number 3 *Poesia* dated 1946, in which Ungaretti had organised a large anthology of Brazilian poetry starting from Indios fairy tales to Vinicius de Moraes. See G. Ungaretti, ed., “Poesia Brasileira”, in *Poesia* 3/4 (January 1946): pp. 188-231. Concerning the Brazilian literary publication in Italy by Ungaretti, see G. Lanciani, ed., *Il Brasile di Ungaretti* (Roma, Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato: 2003).

²⁷ J.F. Liernur, “Fiebre tropical. Nuevos trayectos y nueva geografía en la cultura arquitectónica internacional como consecuencia de la Segunda Guerra Mundial (1940/1960)”, in J.M. Pozo, H.G.-D. Villarias, eds., *Viajes en la transición de la arquitectura española hacia la modernidad* (Pamplona: T6 Ediciones SL, 2010), pp. 49-57.

²⁸ “É interessante observar - prossegue o prof. Bardi - com que facilidade e espontaneidade uma arquitetura se adapta ao ambiente. Digo isso com particular referência a arquitetura brasileira. Encontro nela aspectos curiosíssimos. Ella è inconfundível, e por isso acho errado chamá-la ‘colonial’, devendo ser chamada “brasileira”. O. Schneider, “Arte italiana e arquitetura brasileira”, cit., p. 160.

²⁹ Consider for instance Bardi’s interest in founding a Brazilian encyclopedia on the model of the Italian Enciclopedia Treccani. See P.M. Bardi, “Un’enciclopedia brasiliana”, *Fanfulla* (May 11, 1951).

³⁰ M.A. do Nascimento Arruda, *Metrópole e Cultura. São Paulo no Meio Século XX*, cit., pp. 61-87.

³¹ F. Fernandes, “Deslocamentos Milão-São Paulo: estrangeiros na cidade”, in A.L. Duarte Lanna, F. Arêas Peixoto, J.T. Correia de Lira, M.R. Amaral de Sampaio, eds., *São Paulo, os estrangeiros e a construção das cidades* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2011), pp. 497-520.

³² The last part of the paper anticipates some results of an ongoing research developed during the organisation of the exhibition *Italiani sull’Oceano. Storie di artisti nel Brasile moderno e indigeno alla metà del ‘900* held in Milan, MUDEC, from March 25 to July 21, 2016. The publication, ed. by Paolo Rusconi (in preparation), gathers contributions by Elisa Camesasca, Ana Gonçalves Magalhães, Viviana Pozzoli and Marco Rinaldi.

³³ E. Leon, *IAC. Primeira Escola de Design do Brasil* (São Paulo: Blucher, 2014), pp. 38-49.

³⁴ *Visite o Museu de Arte de São Paulo*, 1951, Poster, Milan, Archivio Roberto Sambonet. On Sambonet, see E. Camesasca, "Dalla linea al colore. L'attività pittorica di Roberto Sambonet", in M. Iannello, ed., *Roberto Sambonet. Artista e designer*, (Milano: Casva, 2016), pp. 19-31 and M. Iannello, "Un matto delle giunche: Roberto Sambonet grafico e designer", in M. Iannello, ed., *Roberto Sambonet. Artista e designer* (Milano: Casva, 2016), pp. 33-93.

³⁵ Paul Klee's work in Lina Bo Bardi's collection is published in the magazine *Habitat 15*. See *Habitat* no. 15 (March-April 1953): p. 46. After being displayed in Milan in the Mazzotta collection, the work is currently in the Art Institute of Chicago.

³⁶ *Fabric with grid pattern*, 1952 printed cotton, produced by Mappin Stores, São Paulo, Milan, Archivio Roberto Sambonet.

³⁷ J.F. Liernur, "Fiebre tropical. Nuevos trayectos y nueva geografía en la cultura arquitectónica internacional como consecuencia de la Segunda Guerra Mundial (1940/1960)", cit., pp. 49-51.

³⁸ The deep impact of number 13-14 Brésil in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (September 1947) about the young community of Italian architects at the Politecnico of Milan was reminded to me by Piero De Amicis during a meeting in 2015. When reading the word *Brasile* published in the Italian Treccani Encyclopedia, we can see that the 1948 update had some photos about Brazilian architecture taken from the French magazine.

³⁹ A. Maiolini Mesquita, "A presença estrangeira em Habitat (1950-54) e Mirante das Artes, Etc. (1967-1968)", in A.L. Duarte Lanna, F. Arêas Peixoto, J.T. Correia de Lira, M.R. Amaral de Sampaio, eds., *São Paulo, os estrangeiros e a construção das cidades*, cit., p. 529.

⁴⁰ M.C. Bonadio, "A moda no MASP de Pietro Maria Bardi (1947-1987)", *Anais do Museu Paulista: História e Cultura Material* XXII, no. 2 (December 2014): pp. 59-62.

⁴¹ Basket, bag designed by Sambonet for La Rinascente department stores, [1956], wicker, produced by Vittorio Bonacina, Milan, Archivio Roberto Sambonet.

⁴² Some outline and contents presented by Novelli in the courses held at the IAC, are published in *Gastone Novelli. Scritti '43-'68*, ed. by Paola Bonani (Roma: Nero, 2019), pp. 66-74.

⁴³ M. Rinaldi, "Arte per l'architettura: Novelli in Brasile (1949-1954)", in P. Vivarelli, ed., *Gastone Novelli 1925-1968* (Genève-Milano: Skira, 1999), pp. 30-39.

⁴⁴ P. Bonani, "Mondi, montagne, segni di terra. La scultura di Gastone Novelli", in P. Bonani, M. Rinaldi, A. Tiddia, eds., *Gastone Novelli. Catalogo generale. 1. Pittura e scultura* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2011), pp. 69-70. On art galleries in São Paulo see M.L. Bueno, "O mercado de galerias e o comércio de arte moderna: Paulo e Rio de Janeiro nos anos 1950-1960", *Sociedade e estado* 20, no. 2 (May-August 2005): pp. 377-402; J.A. Pereira da Silva, *O mercado de arte moderna em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo, 2017).

⁴⁵ See "Morandi", *Habitat* no. 5 (October-December 1951): pp. 14-16.

⁴⁶ The relationships between Novelli and Brazilian concrete artists are addressed in M. Rinaldi, "Il viaggio della farfalla. Temi e immagini della pittura di Novelli", in P. Bonani, M. Rinaldi, A. Tiddia, eds., *Gastone Novelli. Catalogo generale. 1. Pittura e scultura*, cit., pp. 47-49.

⁴⁷ Including the future well-known fashion designer Livio De Simone. I was given this piece of information by Giovanola Ripandelli in 2016.

⁴⁸ Rome, Archivio Gastone Novelli, Gastone Novelli, *Letter to his Mother* (Margherita Mayer von Ketschendorf), [1953].

⁴⁹ In this regard, it is worth mentioning that Novelli's archive hosts a handwritten photo album comprising personal photographs taken during his journeys in Brazil (1948-1949) and a series of photographs of the Roncador-Xingu ethnographic expedition led by Francisco Meirelles (1946).

⁵⁰ See *A mão do povo brasileiro* (São Paulo, Museu de Arte de São Paulo, April 1969) and *A arte do povo brasileiro* (São Paulo, Museu de Arte de São Paulo, April 9-27, 1986). For a discussion on these exhibitions, see L. Migliaccio, "Pietro Maria Bardi no Brasil: história, crítica e crônica de arte", cit. and C. Maroja, "Displaying Whose Modernity? The Bardis and the Museum of Art of São Paulo", in F. Frigeri, K. Handberg, eds., *New Histories of Art in the Global Postwar Era* (New York: Routledge, 2021).

⁵¹ In this regard, see the letters sent by Bardi to Carlo Belli during the 1970s and 1980s, now kept at the Belli Fund at the Archivio del '900 MART in Rovereto.

⁵² See the Arquivo Pessoal Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo, *Texto 71, Ricordo di Milano*.